



Gérard Arthur of Radio Canada spoke yesterday on French language radio in Quebec.

Radio pioneer:

Cheap talk shows ruling air waves

By Jean-François Léger

Gérard Arthur, pioneer in French-language radio in Montreal, stated in his lecture yesterday at the Centre d'Etudes Canadiennes Françaises, that radio broadcasting has known many changes since its beginnings. Budgets have risen, service has been expanded, and the variety of stations has increased. Nonetheless, the quality of content may have suffered particularly as a result of the decrease of the quality of language used and stations' more and more frequent use of cheaply produced "talk-shows".

French language service on the federally operated network was introduced during the mid-nineteen-thirties when CRMC began operating as a bilingual station from Montréal. Conditions, during this period of very limited economic and technical means, were, as Gérard Arthur pointed out, quite difficult. Broadcasting either had to be produced indirectly, or else the station was forced to transmit concerts by symphonic orchestras in New York, Boston, or Cleveland through the NBC network. Because of lack of funds, production from Mont-

continued on page 3

Principal's document prods admin. to limit union input

By Larry Black

McGill University participated in the drawing up of a document by the administrations of Quebec universities which suggest that teachers' unions be excluded from involvement in non-salarial affairs of the University, the Daily learned yesterday.

Although administration officials at McGill, Laval and UQAM emphasized that the document contains only "guidelines" for collective negotiation, the existence of the working paper has been cited as the major reason for the intransigence on the part of the Laval and UQAM administrators in the settling of lengthy strikes there.

The document, labelled by a member of the McGill Faculty Union as "backward", is a product of the Conférence des Recteurs et Principaux d'Universités du Québec (CREPUQ), which groups the heads of administrations of the province's seven universities. According to the Syndicat des professeurs d'Université Laval (SPUL), which released the previously confidential paper earlier this month, the document "was elaborated by a special committee and adopted by the Comité des vice-recteurs aux affaires académiques" of the Conférence.

However, McGill's representative on the Comité, Vice-principal (Academic) Elgil Pedersen, claims the document

was merely a working paper of the "special committee", which he identifies as the Comité permanent des Responsables de Personnes Enseignant, and had not been adopted by the vice-rectors and principals.

McGill had a representative on the special committee, David Steedman, who was assistant to Pedersen and Acting Chairperson of the French Department. Pedersen points out that Steedman played only a minor role in the committee which drew up the document, and has since left McGill for Ottawa.

The document, which resulted from the first time university administrators have met to deal with the growing teachers' unions, is presented in two parts, *mandats libres* and *mandats liés*, which deals with the exclusion of staff from hiring procedures and outlines limits to academic freedom. It is titled "binding mandates" in the English translation. The original document explains the section's contents as "agreements between administrations beyond which they will not go" in contract negotiations.

Among these apparently binding agreements is the decision of CREPUQ that the "right of employment is the sole prerogative of the employer, that is, the administration". Academic freedom also "must be restricted to the right to teach... and should not be used as a justification for any type of

action by professors".

The implementation of such a policy would formalize the conception of the relationship of professor to the University as an employee to employer. This is what professors striking at Laval and UQAM are attempting to avoid.

According to Pedersen, administrators at McGill became "very concerned" about any such *concertation* which might place McGill "in a state of paralysis" with regards to its contract talks. Quoting from correspondence of November 1975 between McGill Principal Robert Bell and John O'Brien, chairperson of CREPUQ, Pedersen explained that McGill had "accepted with reluctance" earlier procedures defining relations with non-academic staff, and now requested "clarification" on the teachers' document, which he felt might impose "a style of negotiation alien to the University".

O'Brien replied that he hoped the document would not "prejudice a university's rights". Consequently, according to Pedersen, "the force of the document is determined by the subsequent exchange of letters", and should only be "used as a guideline to what other universities are doing".

Gilles Dostaler, vice-president of the UQAM professors' union, concedes that the CREPUQ document carries "no power of decision". However, continued on page 6

ANEQ favours demonstration against cuts

RIVIERE-DU-LOUP, P.Q. (CUP)—Twenty-four out of thirty Quebec student unions voted in favour of a demonstration protesting budget cutbacks in post-secondary education to be held outside the province's National Assembly December 3, at a conference of Quebec students here November 20-21.

Student leaders at the second half of the fifth congress of l'Association des Etudiants du Québec (ANEQ) also resolved to conduct a campus-by-campus inquiry into deteriorating conditions at their institutions and use the findings to formulate a common program of action.

And, although relations between ANEQ and the National Union of Students (NUS) have been shaky in the past, ANEQ executive members agreed with a NUS representative attending the congress that representatives of the organizations will discuss future meetings sometime in the next few weeks.

The congress in Rivière-

du-Loup was the conclusion to the fifth ANEQ congress in Hull October 8-10 which failed to set any plans of action since most of the delegates' time was spent impeaching the organization's executive council and revamping the procedure for executive elections.

Delegates voted their five-person executive out of office after some delegates accused the executive of being a "front group" for the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist).

The new executive was mandated to prepare a "program of consolidation" on government cutbacks, student financial aid and the Nadeau Report, but this was not presented to the Rivière-du-Loup Congress, according to ANEQ staff member Daniel Pauquet.

Pauquet said some of the ANEQ leadership now want to wait until the newly-elected Parti Québécois Government announces its education policies before the Association

decides on a course of action.

But delegates agreed to reaffirm their opposition to education cutbacks and inadequate student loans, which have been standing policies of the organization since it was formed after a massive strike and demonstrations by several thousand CEGEP students in 1974.

It is over these issues—and two government reports, one advocating less government funding for post-secondary

Staff Meeting:

Important meeting this afternoon at 5. Nominations open for editorial board positions for the second term, and will close next Thursday. Voting will take place at the first annual Daily pre-Christmas convention, involving all staff members on Thursday, December 9 at 7 pm.

Also reporters are asked to pick up stories at the Office as these will no longer be assigned by telephone.

education and the other urging the removal of faculty decision-making in Quebec's publicly-funded universities—that the December 3 demonstration at the National Assembly will be held, said Pauquet.

In launching its inquiry into budget cutbacks and the quality of education, delegates agreed to do research at their campuses into space allocation, course content and workloads, drop-out rates and professional examinations. The organization will also attempt to review all budgets submitted by institutions at the department level and the sums awarded by the Quebec Education Minister.

Delegates also voted in favour of organizing CEGEP students at the concentration level, roughly the equivalent of university departments.

The fifth congress also voted "moral support" to the striking professors at Laval University in Quebec City, now in its twelfth week, and the six-week-old strike by faculty at the

University of Quebec in Montreal. Some delegates said the strikes reflected opposition to attempts by the Quebec Education Ministry to make post-secondary education less dependent on government funding, according to Concordia University delegate Jean Robertson.

Delegates also reviewed National Student Day, a nationwide action on government cutbacks November 9, and student involvement in labour's National Day of Protest, according to NUS staff member Pierre Thideau, who attended the congress at the invitation of the ANEQ executive.

ANEQ was not involved in NSD activities since the association is planning its own action on March 22, ANEQ executive member Yves Allard told the National Union in a November 1 letter.

With the addition of the Thetford Mines CEGEP student union at this congress, the ANEQ membership now includes 34 student unions.

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Constitutional Referendum

As previously announced, a referendum on
constitutional proposals for the Students' Society will
be held on **November 25, 26 and 30**. All registered
students in degree credit programs are eligible to vote.
Poll times and locations are as follows:

Today & Friday
November 25 and 26
10:00 am to 4:00 pm

University Centre
Leacock Building
Bronfman Building
Chancellor Day Hall
Stewart Biology
McIntyre Medical
Strathcona Anatomy &
Dentistry
Burnside Hall
McConnell Engineering
Education Building
Strathcona Music
Pathology
Wilson Hall
Redpath Library

Tuesday
November 30
10:00 am to 4:00 pm

University Centre
Leacock Building
Stewart Biology

Tuesday
November 30
4:00 pm to 7:00 pm

Bishop Mountain Hall

Further information can be obtained at the Students'
Society Office, University Centre, 3480 McTavish St.
(392-8922).

Be informed and vote!
It's your society and constitution

U. of W. student exec. caught after rock-throwing crime

WATERLOO (CUP)—A University of Waterloo Students Federation executive member was apprehended in a rock-throwing incident late Sunday evening in which a window was shattered in the office of the *Chevron*, the student newspaper which was suspended from publishing two months ago.

Franz Klingender was questioned moments after the incident and campus security reported he would be charged at Waterloo Regional Police Court this week. Campus security would not specify charges, saying only that there is "one main one" and "a couple of others being considered".

Klingender is one of two federation councillors who were recalled by their constituents last week in a petition for failing to carry out campaign promises and backing Federation President Shane Roberts in attempts to close the *Chevron*.

However, Roberts has refused to accept the recall petitions on a technicality: they lack presidential approval.

A petition is also circulating to recall Roberts and, according to the *Free Chevron* still published by *Chevron* staff, an estimated 1,000 of the necessary 2,300 signatures have been gathered.

In related incidents, the

Federation of Students' executive changed the locks on the doors of the photo and editor's offices of the *Chevron*, leaving the paper's staff occupying the larger central office Nov. 19.

The staff operate without several pieces of equipment including five cameras seized by Roberts Nov. 16. The following day an office typewriter was impounded by campus security as evidence after a scuffle between Roberts and *Chevron* staff, following Roberts' attempt to remove the machine.

The Federation Executive has also cut off the *Chevron*'s phones. At a council meeting November 21, before the rock-throwing, the council ratified a motion instructing the President and Vice-President "To take those steps necessary for the Federation to enjoy full and unencumbered access to and use of the space and facilities in its offices, especially room 140 of the campus centre" (where the *Chevron* office is located).

The motion passed 8-7 after council speaker Bob White voted to break a 7-7 deadlock. Both recalled councillors voted in favour of the motion.

Council also voted 8-6 approving an "interim publication" and paying its editor a salary. The first edition appeared Monday November 22,

called "The Real Chevron."

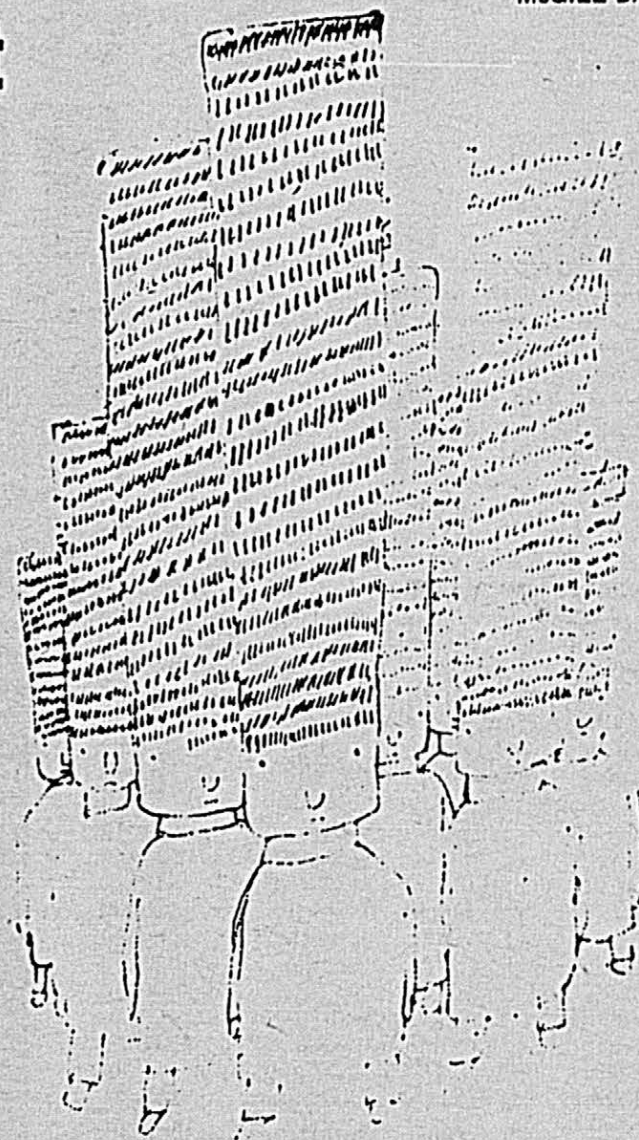
Four councillors are challenging the legality of the council meeting on the grounds that Roberts allowed recalled councillors Klingender and Don Orth to vote. They are calling for Roberts' resignation on the same grounds.

The Waterloo Federation closed the *Chevron* September 30, reversing a decision of four days previous when council overturned the Federation Executive's attempt to lock the staff out of the paper's offices. Council also dissolved two paid positions on the staff—production manager and news editor—thereby firing Neil Docherty and Henry Hess respectively.

The executive charged the paper had been taken over by a camp's political group, the Anti-Imperialist Alliance (AIA) allowing the resignation of the Editor-in-Chief, who cited political pressure from other *Chevron* staff as his reason.

The council approved the closure after the appearance of a special *Chevron* denouncing the Federation Executive. The staff deny the charges of an AIA takeover and the Federation has never produced proof for its allegations.

They continue to publish the paper and demand the reinstatement of the paper and the fired staff.



Presentation on anarchist's book Bookchin to speak

Murray Bookchin is one of the foremost anarchists speaking and writing today. He is internationally acclaimed for his writing on the city, ecology and the revolutionary potential in a modern society.

A former autoworker and Trotskyist, Bookchin is particularly concerned with breaking down traditional ways of thinking about the world. He feels they limit attempts to bring about revolution because they ignore the overwhelming changes that have taken place in the world since Marx's day.

His book, 'The Limits of the City', is a classic work describing the evolution of the city in concert with the evolution of capitalism and the State apparatus. His radical analysis

demonstrates the breakdown of social intercourse, craft skills, sensuality and security with the rise of the hierarchical city.

Bookchin criticizes urban planning for its role in aiding this crisis, and reminds us of past cities that were designed for people, not for business and State centralization. As an anarchist, Bookchin views the solution as one of fundamental change rather than mere substitutions in the socioeconomic structures.

In the tradition of other outstanding urban critics such as Kropotkin, Mumford, Rousopoulous and Paul Goodman, Bookchin will be presenting a revolutionary analysis of the urban crisis out of which tactics and strategies for change can realistically emerge.

—Scott Weinstein

Sterilization conference coming

By Rory Clarke

The brutal, inhuman methods with which India is implementing its sterilization program will be the focus at the Indian People's Association in North America's and South Asian People's Association-sponsored conference tomorrow.

The conference, which will include skits and a panel discussion, will deal with the sterilization program from the time of its inception in 1972, following the failure of other attempts at population growth control. Originally Indians were lured by material incentives such as clothes and bags of rice in exchange for a vasectomy or hysterectomy. Since the Emergency in 1975, however, sterilization, although officially not mandatory, is "strongly encouraged" after two children, and there is ample evidence that in many cases is actually "forced".

In several states, having more than two children is considered a misconduct for government employees. In Delhi and elsewhere, school-teachers were told to bring 3 volunteers each, via pressure on their children, or lose pay and benefits. There are several known cases of old men and young boys being forcibly sterilized. Frequently, the patient is not given medical care

following the operation and infections, even death, may follow.

Any resistance to the Government on this question results in arrest or worse because India is, after all, under a State of Emergency. The greatest clash

occurred last April in Delhi when thousands of Muslim, Hindu and Sikh slum dwellers rioted, protesting both compulsory sterilization and the levelling of a long-established slum colony. The news was sup-

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Need for Indians to achieve success

By Brian Sosnow

Frank Horn, a Mohawk Indian and law student at McGill, addressed the Anthropology Students' Association Tuesday, stressing the need for a ritual that would enable Indians to become members of the professional class, successful business men and government administrators, without developing a syndrome of self-destruction.

In Horn's opinion, Indians are governed by a unique mode of unconscious thought which is derived from the experience of the Indian race. It is an unwritten law, he argued, that, since Indians are community-minded, whenever an Indian gains position and prestige, the concomitant financial rewards must be distributed among the people of the community. Horn feels that this custom contrasts

with the experience of the competitive individualist in modern society.

Horn claimed to have met a number of Indians who had aspired to personal betterment, but, in the process, had been later compelled to commit suicide. Some actually died in order to appease the Ancestral Spirits.

Horn stated that Indians can pursue successful careers without fear of being possessed by the wrath of the Spirits so long as they live among whites who do not manifest self-destructive tendencies as a result of improved social standing.

Since the suicidal forces are touched off by social mobility, a moratorium on economic development of native reserves would offer protection to Indians until a cure for the syndrome is found.

Arthur...

continued from page 1

real was largely limited to organ music supplied by movie houses in exchange for free publicity, martial music from the military bands of the Grenadier Guards here in Montréal or the Royal 22nd regiment in Québec City.

As the CBC and CRMC's original goals had been to provide an alternative to the commercial stations in Montréal, little programming of popular orientation was produced. This conception of the CBC's role appears to have been maintained until today, though, as Arthur pointed out. The introduction of what were later to be known as "soap operas"

and quiz shows following the beginning of the Second World War increased the network's public, which had by 1940, changed a great deal following reductions in the price of radio sets.

Another interesting characteristic of CRMC content during the thirties was the almost total absence of information. Because radio stations feared libel suits, political speeches had to be approved by stations before they could be transmitted. Furthermore, news bulletins were not introduced before the late thirties on CRMC because the printed press maintained a monopoly over news production. Any commercial stations in the province were thus run by the local newspaper.

The politics of the w

The first part of this article appeared in the November 23 Daily. Because it was buried in an unusually large issue, the Daily didn't think it had received the attention it deserved.

By Robert Ricketts

Mr. Alwi, a journalist with the Indonesian daily, *Warta Bakti*, disappeared from his home sometime in September 1969. No one has heard from him since. A short time later, his two children, aged nine and eleven at the time, were spotted wandering aimlessly in the streets of Jakarta. Their mother's whereabouts is still unknown.

Like many tens of thousands of his countrymen, many of whom have languished in detention camps since October coup of 1965 which deposed Sukarno and brought the Generals to power, Mr. Alwi was arrested by special military decree on suspicion of "communism" and is being held incommunicado without benefit of legal advice, trial or even formal accusation. Indonesia is one of the world's largest prison camps, comparable in scale only to South Vietnam under the Thieu regime or to Chile or Uruguay today. Informed estimates place the number of political prisoners at between 55,000 and 100,000. No one knows for sure. The official figure is subject to wild fluctuations. Indonesian Attorney-General Sugih Arto told journalists in Jakarta in September 1971 that "It is impossible to say exactly how many political prisoners there are. It is a floating rate, like the Japanese yen vis-a-vis the dollar". In October 1974, official spokesperson for the Ministry of Defence, General Sumrahadi, announced that Indonesia had no political prisoners.

The Colonial Heritage

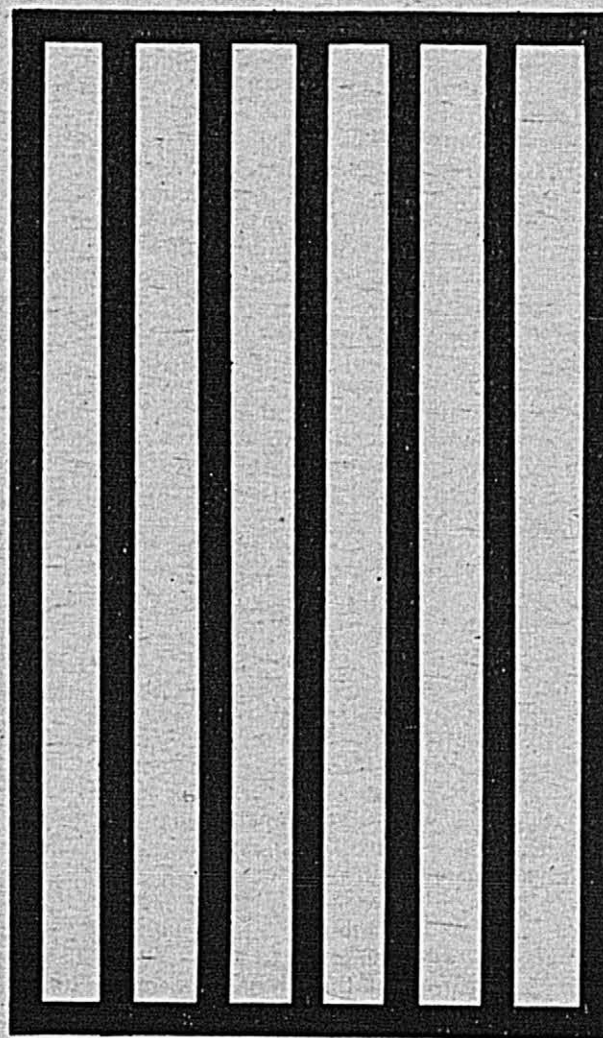
And yet, Indonesia is often thought of as an economically progressive member of the Third World, well on the road to development and self-sufficiency. The determined efforts of its military leaders to industrialize have made Indonesia a prime candidate for foreign assistance from many quarters. In 1974, for example, approximately five percent of her total bilateral aid came from Canadian sources, and Indonesia is currently one of the largest recipients of Canadian development funds in the world. The people of North America have long nurtured the illusion that the juxtaposition of economic growth and political repression is somehow incongruous, even contradictory. But to the tens of thousands of Indonesians condemned by accidents of history and birth to live out such contradictions, the connection is palpably real.

The daily decisions that keep Indonesia's political jails cramped with human misery cannot be understood apart from that country's colonial heritage and its post-colonial struggle to free itself from imperialist domination. Many of its problems are traceable to 300 years of Dutch colonial rule. Two features in particular have persisted as reminders of the colonial past since Indonesia formally won its independence from the Netherlands in 1949. These are its dual economy and the glaring disparities that separate densely settled Java from the underdeveloped and sparsely populated outlying islands known collectively as Outer Indonesia.

Java, the fertile heartland of Indonesia where the colonial system took firmest root, experienced a dramatic population explosion after the 19th century, provoked in part by colonial policies and sustained by the labour-absorbing qualities of wet-rice agriculture. The population of Java shot from seven million in 1830 to 41.7 million in 1930. Today it stands at nearly 79 million and continues to grow at an annual rate of 2.5 percent.

A second consequence of colonial rule was the development of a prosperous capital-intensive export sector developed and controlled by foreign firms and a labour-intensive indigenous sector where technological lag, demographic and cultural involution and endemic poverty were the chief characteristics. Cheap food (a prime export commodity) and cheap labour made fantastic fortunes for Dutch capitalists while making virtual slaves of those forced to provide them.

Unlike Java, Indonesia's outer islands are unsuited to wet-rice agriculture, but the Dutch developed a number of enclaves, transforming them



into lucrative coffee, pepper and rubber plantations, and imported wholesale cheap Chinese labour (the spin-off of British imperialism in South China) to work them. Today these regions, yielding petroleum, bauxite, tin, manganese and other minerals, are the country's chief source of foreign exchange. However, the islands' lop-sided economy, dependent on massive food imports, is continually short-changed on payday by overcrowded Java, which for reasons of political expediency and dire economic necessity, must use most earned revenues to butter its own bread first. This situation has become a flash-point in relations governing the two zones and has sparked more than one revolt.

Independence and the 1965 Coup

Independence, won in 1949, left the Dutch still in virtual control of the economy's "modern" sector. The continued drain of Indonesian wealth to Europe, and Dutch efforts to sabotage the growth of a national bourgeoisie, effectively stifled economic development. In 1957, President Sukarno moved to free Indonesia from Holland's stranglehold and nationalized all Dutch possessions. Mismanagement and the inflationary tendency inherent in a post-colonial economy still dependent on foreign capital for loans and deficit financing eventually upset the precarious balance Sukarno had struck between the powerful armed forces, the large civil bureaucracy and the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), which counted over three million supporters. On October 1, 1965, profound unrest and an economy crippled by runaway inflation of 600 percent triggered an abortive coup led by middle-echelon army officers.

The Indonesian Army, directed by General Suharto, seized on the occasion to launch a brutal attack on the "forces of communism", which were quickly blamed for the incident. Then followed one of the bloodiest massacres in recent history. Sympathizers of the PKI and progressive journalists, trade unionists, disgruntled peasants and workers and members of mass organizations were hunted relentlessly and then butchered without quarter. The overseas Chinese community was decimated. As many as one million Indonesians may have perished in the Terror (a more conservative source places the

figure at 500,000). Another 250,000 were arrested. Of those imprisoned, many have since been released, but an immense repressive apparatus was set in place at this time, and today the arrests continue without respite. Tens of thousands of uprooted peasants, workers and trade unionists share crowded cells with other tens of thousands of students, academics and journalists.

Responsibility for the arrest, interrogation (routinely accompanied by torture) and detention of suspects falls under the authority of the KOPKAMTIB (Command for the Restoration of Security and Order), a special branch of the armed forces created after the events of 1965 to "fight communism". Military officers of all ranks have subsequently been authorized to make arrests and interrogate prisoners who are divided into three principle categories: A, B and C. Class A prisoners are those against whom the military has built a case sound enough to warrant a trial, although only 800 suspects have been brought before a court since 1965. Class B prisoners are those against whom the military has insufficient evidence. Most fall in this category. Class C is a catchall for prisoners not in A or B and who are thought to harbour dangerous ideas but pose no real threat to the régime.

Prisoners are never informed of their classification, which can change arbitrarily at a moment's notice. Indeed, the government has itself admitted that it has no intention of trying the vast majority. It is clear that arbitrary arrest, which can extend to friends, relatives and even children of suspects, and torture have become institutions, "rational" instruments of government used to intimidate an oppressed people into docile compliance with the wishes of their rulers. Political prisons have become a permanent feature of Indonesian life. But why?

Imperialism and Political Repression

The attempted coup of 1965 brought more than just a military government to power. It signalled the end of one theory of politics and economic development and the beginning of another. Sukarno's fiercely independent, nationalistic "Guided Democracy" was scrapped and the birth of a "New Order" proclaimed. Suharto's sudden rise to power found the United States and Japan, both of whom had been eyed with cold suspicion by Sukarno, waiting eagerly in the wings. A series of swift moves brought Indonesia gradually into line with the dominant anti-Communist powers of the Pacific. Indonesia rejoined the United Nations and became a member in good standing of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. US-trained development experts, the "Berkeley Mafia", were welcomed back to Jakarta, and with strong US and Japanese backing, Indonesia's heavy outstanding debts were rescheduled on unusually favourable terms. Finally, in 1967, to crown his achievements, Suharto announced a new foreign investment law offering investment security, generous tax holidays, complete managerial freedom and guarantees of profit repatriation for foreign firms.

This same year saw the United States, Japan, Canada and several European states pool their resources to form an international aid consortium, the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI), and begin approving annual loan packages to "get the economy moving." Lest one be tempted to underestimate the financial clout wielded by the IGGI, it should be remembered that it was just such an international consortium backed by the US and other capitalist powers that successfully cut off all external credits to Chile prior to the 1973 military takeover.

The IGGI made \$200 million available to Indonesia in 1967. By 1974, loan commitments had grown to the princely sum of \$850 million, and in 1975-1976, an unprecedented \$1.2 billion in bilateral and multilateral funding was arranged for Indonesia by the consortium. Private interests soon picked up the trail as well. In 1969, the Private Investment Company for Asia (PICA) was set up with US, Japanese, Canadian and European capital to encourage invest-

World's largest prison

ment in the country.

To deal specifically with the unequal distribution of power and wealth between Inner and Outer Indonesia and Indonesia's dual economy, two five-year plans were implemented, both heavily sponsored by foreign capital. The first, from 1969 to 1974, concentrated on building up an infrastructure and developing extractive industries in the outlying islands. Major efforts were also directed toward improving agricultural output.

The second five-year plan, inaugurated in 1974, has accelerated these programs, placing special emphasis on the commercialization of agriculture and on the transformation of the traditional "indigenous" sector of the economy. A second initiative aims to even the demographic imbalance between Java and the outer islands through rapid regional development. This is to be accomplished in part by the transfer en masse to less populated areas of some 250,000 household heads who will provide cheap labour with which to entice prospective foreign investors.

In 1974, Amnesty International, an independent, non-partisan organization that keeps tabs on political prisoners around the world, reported large numbers of Indonesian political detainees being moved from Jakarta to permanent labour camps in remote areas where they were being pressed into service on government projects. Forced labour has long been a feature of political imprisonment and one that Indonesian officials have not hesitated to exploit for profit. Political prisoners have been used on construction sites at Bayolali and Ungaran in Central Java. They built the pipeline at the South Javan port of Cilacap. Prisoners were used to construct a cement plant on Nusakambangan Island for two Japanese companies, Onoda Cement and Mitsui. Other projects that have exploited free prison labour are the port at Teluk Bajur in West Sumatra, tourist facilities near Bandung in West Java and an airstrip in East Kalimantan.

The mass transfer of 1974 was significant, however, for it coincided with the start of Indonesia's second five-year plan and raises the possibility that prisoners are being deliberately integrated into a global strategy of economic development. The connection between planning in the economic domain and forced prison labour is one that remains to be proved conclusively. However, the broad outlines of at least one other relationship between economic development and political imprisonment begin to emerge from the tableau we have just sketched. President Suharto and his military advisors have plainly decided that foreign investment is the key variable in Indonesia's formula for quick economic take-off. To ensure the social and political stability that alone will guarantee serious attention from private capital and public aid agencies abroad, Suharto has opted for totalitarian controls and systematic repression at home. At the same time Indonesia becomes ever more deeply entwined in the web of dependency so adeptly spun by the imperialist powers.

Canada's Role

Canada, like other advanced capitalist countries, extends financial aid to Indonesia both directly, through bilateral assistance programs, and indirectly, through multilateral grants and loans. Canada's bilateral assistance to Indonesia has steadily grown from the \$4 million loan in 1971 which marked the highlight of Trudeau's trip to Jakarta in 1971 to \$21 million for the period 1973-74. Aid for 1974-75 ran around \$30 million, but Canada's previous efforts were dwarfed when, amid much fanfare, Trudeau and Suharto signed a \$200 million aid deal (including both bi- and multilateral help) in Ottawa on July 3 of last year. This is one of the largest foreign assistance programs ever undertaken by Canada.

Canadian assistance has been carefully tailored to fit the needs of Indonesia's five-year plans. Loans to develop civil aviation will help knit the outer islands to the fabric of Inner Indonesia's social and economic

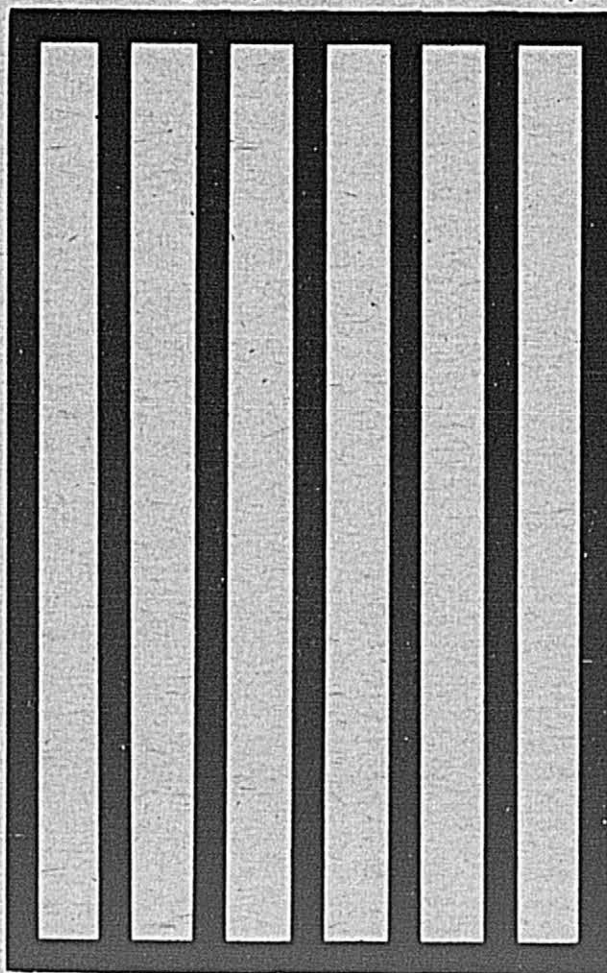
life. A recently approved \$3.5 million loan to finance the Eastern Indonesian Regional Development Plan will explore the possibilities of developing Outer Indonesia and creating new jobs in farming, fishing, forestry and mining. Through multilateral organizations such as World Bank, the Asian Development Bank and the IGGI, Canada also contributes to the revival of sugar plantations (one of the mainstays of the old colonial economy) in southern Sulawesi, large-scale irrigation projects and the massive transformation of agriculture.

CIDA officials are quick to cite Canada's moral obligation to help developing countries like Indonesia and, on the surface, Canada's lending policies do appear liberal: bilateral aid is divided about equally between outright grants and interest-free loans. However, although foreign aid is not a money-making proposition for CIDA, it is a windfall for the Canadian propertied class as a whole and in particular for those firms large enough to take the risks that direct foreign investment entails. Names like Alcan, MacMillan-Bloedel, Bata Shoes, International Nickel, Sherritt-Gordon, Swann Wooster, Acres International, Bow Valley Industries and Montreal's own Staetler-Hunter and Aviation Planning Services are already well entrenched in Indonesia. Private and public Canadian capital, then, is heavily committed in the key sectors of the Indonesian economy.

But public aid is drawn from the national coffers and in this sense represents a direct subsidy to Canadian corporate interests paid out of the taxpayer's pocket. To take an example, recipients of bilateral development funds, known as lines of credit, must agree to use 80 percent of such loans to purchase Canadian goods, a requirement that translates into a hefty trade surplus for Canada and a whopping deficit for Indonesia.

CIDA also actively encourages Canadian businesses to invest and expand their operations in developing countries through its Pre-Investment Incentive Program, which reimburses up to 50 percent of allowed costs for feasibility studies. In 1973, CIDA sponsored a feasibility study of a proposed steel mill in Indonesia. Should the study indicate probable success, Canadian technology will be called upon to construct the mill whose total estimated value is \$100 million.

A further hedge for potential investors is the Export



Development Corporation, a government agency that, in addition to making long-term loans to foreign businesses at competitive rates, insures Canadian enterprises against non-payment on purchases of Canadian goods and losses of investment abroad due to political instability.

CIDA emphasizes that it agrees to support only those projects judged likely to become self-sufficient. But there is another side of the aid coin that is conveniently lost from view. Foreign aid, even when tied to specific projects, lends itself to use by the recipient in ways the donor country cannot foresee—or to which it is willing to turn a blind eye. Specifically, in Indonesia, regional development means the wholesale exploitation of Outer Indonesia by the central government and the special vested interests it represents; it means imposing iron control over restless, dissatisfied outlying areas difficult of access. The commercialization of agriculture is leading to the expropriation en masse of smallholding peasants who are being transformed into exploited wage workers on what was once their own land, or forced into crowded urban reserves of cheap labour. Suharto and his generals are adept at using foreign assistance to shore up their personal power. Greatly increased revenues in 1974 from petroleum and other development resources were quickly siphoned off into higher salaries for the armed forces and the top-heavy civil service, the two props of the Suharto régime.

Moreover, the desire of private firms to invest where labour and costs are cheapest and profits highest has made of Java a happy hunting ground for foreign capital which accentuates existing differences between the two Indonesias and perpetuates colonial and neo-colonial patterns of unequal development. It is not surprising, then, that the influx of multilateral and bilateral aid, the outflow of private profits and national wealth and a growing public debt have come under increasing criticism and resistance from the rural and urban poor and from nationalistic students who have begun to openly criticize what they see as the unbridled foreign exploitation of their country. The street riots that erupted in January 1974 protesting the visit of then-Prime Minister Tanaka, recently of Lockheed fame, are the surest manifestation of this malaise.

Despite the recent victories of the Indochinese peoples and the 1974 disorders, there is little indication that present domestic goals will change appreciably. Indeed, the motto of the day remains, "Development - Yes! Politics - No!", and the government is bent upon making this a hard reality, as the 70,000 political prisoners in its jails amply demonstrate. Indonesia's rulers are sold on the idea that the key to economic—and political—survival is investment security for foreign capital, i.e. continuing dependence for Indonesia—and that the best guarantee of this security is generalized oppression of the most brutal variety. For the forcible detention of so many can be taken only as an unequivocal warning to those with dangerous ideas—and at the same time as a pledge to potential investors abroad—that in Indonesia repression pays.

Perhaps the point of all this for Canadians is not that their money is being used to keep political prisons—there is not direct proof, as yet, that it is—but rather that assistance, technical and monetary, is never given in a vacuum, disembodied from the social and political system of the country it is supposed to serve. Long-range commercial considerations are undoubtedly uppermost in the minds of those who design Canada's foreign aid programs. The question that must be asked, however, is, who does such "aid" benefit? The military rulers of Indonesia and its comprador class, yes. Canada's own flourishing national bourgeoisie and the interests of US imperialism, yes. But certainly not the Indonesian people themselves who continue to have one of the lowest per capita annual incomes in the world and against whom the entire foreign aid and investment apparatus is, in fact, directed.

Robert Ricketts is a member of the Association des étudiants du Centre d'Etudes sur l'Asie de l'Est de l'Université de Montréal

The Daily, the fringe and the Left

The McGill Daily feels that an apology is due for the appearance on Monday of the letters submitted by the CCL-(M-L)-inspired October 14 Committee and its reply by the CPC(M-L). The Daily believes that the level and content of the argument presented in such letters is insulting to students at McGill. Their slogans and simplistic analyses do little more than indicate how irrelevant these are to the readership.

Each year brings a new staff into the Daily. Although the Daily has in past been influenced by various fringe-left groups, this year's staff has remained relatively untainted. We have tried to ignore the playpen dialectics which have long been traded by these groups. It remains for us an embarrassment that such debate should be equated with the paper's official stance.

Shortly following the National Day of Protest, the Daily was approached by the October 14 Committee to have

their letter published accusing the CPC (M-L) of violent activities. Because of the letter's nature, it was finally taken before the Daily staff. The majority of the staff decided that the letter should be printed as it represented the feelings of a McGill student organization. However, there were two conditions attached. Firstly, CPC (M-L) should be given the opportunity to reply and, secondly, that the Daily should carry out an investigation into the incident. The results of this investigation were to then be printed in the Daily along with the letters.

An unforeseen problem arose when no Daily reporter would volunteer to carry out an investigation. Perhaps this is an indication of just how unimportant McGill students feel these groups are on campus and in Canada generally. Consequently the two letters were published without the news article.

It seems that a genuine issue was inherent in the

claims of the October 14 Committee. Charges that marchers had been assaulted naturally interested us because people who had legitimately wanted to protest the wage and price controls were being hindered. But the sloganeering practised by the groups involved relegated the actual purpose of the strike to a secondary position. Their letters never mentioned the purposes of the protest and sought only to gain political mileage from the incident at the expense of the other group.

The only possible result of the bickering between CPC (M-L) and CCL (M-L) can be a general discrediting of any person or group who attempts to make a rational, honest criticism of social conditions. Their dogma and elitist condescension in the name of Marx can only alienate not only the conservatives of the world but also the vast majority of thinking human beings.

The McGill Daily

LETTERS

To the Daily:

I read my Daily today with much disgust. The open letters from the October 14th Committee and the CPC(ML) should not have come as much surprise to me, but they did. I am amazed that there are still people at McGill that consider it worthwhile to denounce the CPC(ML) or the MSM or the AALAPSC or whatever else they choose to call themselves from day to day. I have been at McGill off and on (mostly on) since 1968 and have seen and heard about nothing but violence and disruption from these people during all this time.

In 1968 they assaulted a person who had the audacity to ask them a question at an open meeting they had called. Of

course we can assume that he was a "running dog lackey of the imperialists", which was their slogan of the week at that time. I saw this. I was also present at the riots in the Union in 1973-1974 when they attacked "Zionists" with sticks for singing Hebrew folk songs. Last year they made national headlines with their tactics in Ottawa at the native peoples' protest. And of course, Vancouver, as the letter from the Committee pointed out. These are just the things I have been aware of, as I do not make a habit of studying their actions. Oh yes, one more anyway: the Brzezinski affair.

What they have accomplished with their actions in the course of the past nine years has been to disrupt many potentially positive actions by the left, and to discredit the left in the minds of many. They have polarized opinion and

shifted it to the right among McGill students, although they are certainly not the major factor in this shift. They have certainly not accomplished anything positive.

Since some members, and clearly the leadership, of this tiny group appear to have some intelligence, I find it hard to believe that they remain unaware of the consequences of their acts. Which raises the question of motives. Discrediting of the left is a major activity of several well known international and national organizations proven to be active in Quebec.

Loren W. Hicks

To the Daily:

The McGill Daily is guilty of being used by "revolutionary peoples' groups" this year as evidenced by Monday's stupid and irrelevant tug-of-war between the CPC-ML and the October 14 Committee.

In the past it seems to me that the Daily was an active promoter of this garbage which only serves to discredit the left and along with it your own paper. I realize the Daily has changed its position in the last two years and tries to cover

McGill rather than "the just peoples struggle of Oman", but letting irrelevant drizzle, representing maybe 25 or 30 people at most, into your columns only alienates your readership in the same manner.

All these groups want to do is bust heads, in the name of revolution, while at the same time claiming that they are the only "progressive" group and everyone else is a fascist-imperialist. They don't seem to realize how stupid they sound and what a disservice they do to groups who want to improve some of the inequalities in this world.

I think the Daily owes it to its readership to say where it stands with these rich and bored yo-yos.

John Harrison
J-3

Sterilization...

continued from page 3

pressed, though sixty people were killed. It is nearly impossible to estimate how many other uprisings have occurred.

The assumption underlying the policy of sterilization is that overpopulation is the chief cause of poverty. There have been several studies, however, which show that India could feed all of Southeast Asia if its resources were developed and if it concentrated on growing food crops rather than on "cash crops" such as cotton or tea, which are raised for export. This would require the large scale mobilization of human labour and would require a redistribution of wealth. The vast amount of arable land is owned by a small number of "farmers". They sometimes let their wheat harvests rot in the silo because they cannot get a good price, even though the whole province may be starving.

But instead the Indian government chooses to view the problem as one of overpopulation, and it is the poor who are made to pay for this "crime".

"Even if the problem were overpopulation, which we do not believe it to be, we would not condone forced sterilization. It is the complete denial of human rights, and is a method only fascists can use", commented SAPA president Anand Patwardhan.

The conference will be held in Leacock 26 at 8 pm tonight. Everyone is invited to attend.

CREPUQ...

continued from page 1

the existence of a document outlining what was originally claimed to be basic agreements on the part of the province's university administrations "must surely influence the negotiations" underway at both UQAM and Laval in Quebec City.

today

Women's Union:

Chris Davis, from the Elizabeth House, home for single mothers, will speak on battered women. Chris has a degree in social work from the London School of Economics and has worked with battered women in England. 7:30 pm in the Women's Union, rm. 457-458 Union.

Baha'i fireside:

Discussions on world unity and other principles of the Baha'i Faith tonight from 7:30-10 pm in Union 124. Everyone welcome.

ESA:

General meeting 12 noon in Redpath Library, room R2-10. All students are encouraged to attend as the Constitution will be discussed and voted on.

Understanding the city — a radical analysis:

Murray Bookchin presents a revolutionary critique of the urban crisis out of which tactics and strategies for change can realistically emerge. 8 pm, Burnside Hall room 45.

Chemistry Dept:

Dr. D.J. Simkin: "What I did on Sabbatical," 12 noon, Otto Maass 215.

Ethiopian Students' Union in North America [Canada Chapter]:

Meeting on the Junta fascist activities and recent developments in Ethiopia. All friends and supporters of the Ethiopian people are invited to attend, 7:30 pm, Union 123-124.

Music Faculty concert:

JOANNE MACASKILL, piano. Works by Bach, Schumann, Villa-Lobos. KATHRYN JENSEN, viola, accompanied by André Savoie. Works by Schumann, Hindemith. Recital Room C209, 555 Sherbrooke West, 1 pm — admission free.

McGill Hellenic Association:

Invites you to a Greek musical evening featuring Giannis Anestis and Stelios Panagiotidis tonight at 7 pm in University Centre Room 307. Refreshments will be available. Everybody is welcome.

Economics Students Association:

Economics professor Chris Green will speak on "Prelude to Controls-Causes of Inflation" at 1 pm in Leacock 14.

Rats conquer earth:

... or, would you believe "Ratopolis", a movie about rats in a semi-urban environment. Today, Stewart S1-3 at 12 & 1 pm. Presented by the Biology Students Union.

McGill Psychology Students

Association:

Meeting for bio-psych Pub Nite. All welcome (especially new volunteers) to organizational meeting today at 4 pm in Stewart N7-11 — MPSA office.

Mandel meeting cancelled:

Meeting scheduled with Ernest Mandel has been cancelled due to US government's refusal to let his plane land in Miami from Bogota, Colombia.

The morning stars sang together:

and the sons of God shouted for joy. Repeat performance tomorrow, 8:30-8:55 am Union 307.

Snack with Zak:

Tired of a sterile environment? Bring your lunch to the Newman Centre (3484 Peel) and SNACK WITH ZAK.

McGill History Students' Association:

There will be an important meeting today of the MHSA at 3 pm in Leacock 111. All history students are urged to attend.

McGill Rowing Club:

Meeting: Officers to be selected and constitution discussed. Douglas Hall Common Room, 3851 University St., 7:00 pm. Men, women, students, faculty, old members, and new members invited.

English Literature Association:

All members are asked to pick up newsletter in ELA office (Arts B20).

McGILL DAILY

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DAILY SPORTS

Redmen await stiffer opposition

By Stormin' Norman

Macdonald College Clansmen were in town last night for an exhibition game with their big-brother counterparts, the McGill Redmen. The pucksters played more like the Holding Company, but sent the MacJac team home with a 6-1 defeat.

John Swan scored three goals to lead a lacklustre performance on the part of the Redmen, who were obviously not "up" for the contest with the weak MacJac team. The only bright spot for the Redmen came in the third period, as sharp goaltending by Mike Farmer preserved their 3-1 lead, before McGill came to life with goals by Swan, Bob Beehler, and Ken Covo.

Redmen uninspired

The outclassed Clansmen displayed some tenacious checking before succumbing in the third, and with any luck could have kept the score much closer than it was. The Redmen, for the major part of the game, did not display the kind of hustle needed to run up a big score on the visitors. This is understandable given that the Clansmen probably couldn't win the McGill Intramural championship, and that for McGill, this was just a tune-up for the big game next Wednesday against Concordia.

Commented Coach Herb Madill: "We play like that next week, and we'll lose by fifteen goals." Hear, Hear. This observer saw more spirit in the previous night's skating drills than was evident in last night's game, and Madill's comment can best be described as charitable. However, it is a certainty that the Redmen will come into the Concordia game far better prepared than they were for Macdonald.

Coach Madill has been getting the Redmen ready for

the big game against Concordia Dec. 1. When asked about any special preparations that might be underway, Madill replied, "Not really. We know what to expect, and we'll be ready to play." He did say, however, that they will be working on the powerplay this week, a weak point in past games.

Spirit high

From the spirit evident at practice, the team won't be any pushover, and Concordia will be in for a rude awakening if they come in overconfident. Traditionally, the Redmen have always produced a super effort against the Stingers, and the game next Wednesday promises to be a classic. The Redmen are young and hungry, as the saying goes, and the experience gained in their first games should help them against the powerful Concordia team.

To date, coach Madill has received no reply to his letter to the league regarding the disgraceful exhibition last Saturday in Chicoutimi, where the sticks hit more bodies than pucks. Latest word on Greg Fraser, who suffered an eye injury in that "game", is that he should return in about a week, unless the doctors find a fracture.

Speaking of Chicoutimi, the McGill Athletics Dept. showed a lot of class on that trip, picking up the tab for plane, hotel, and meals. The players all appreciated it, and responded with three points in the two games. There has been a concerted effort this year to help promote our inter-collegiate teams, and more results should be evident next semester, when programs now under consideration go into effect.

The Redmen were to have played a Nov. 20 game against

Laval University, but the league has started without them due to the strike. It looks like this year is pretty well shot for the Rouge et Or teams, and the league has suffered in all sports as a result. However, the Redmen were not unhappy over the cancellation of the game, as it would have been their fifth straight road game to start the season. That would have been tough on a team with as many rookies as the Redmen have, and there is some bitterness on the team over the early scheduling, as they feel that it favors the strong teams. Funny how the QUAA seems to continually draw complaints, pretty soon they may begin to think there's something actually wrong, and stop acting in their usual high handed manner.

Leading scorers before last night's game were: Billy Floch, 3 goals and four assists. Mike Hayes, 2 and 5. Jeff Taylor, 1 and 5, and John Swan, 3 and 1.



Redman John Swan [white jersey] scored three goals last night and helped his fellow Redmen to a 6-1 win over MacJac.

Stingers overwhelm Martlets

By Sherwin Wong

When Steve Forman is not coaching McGill's women's basketball team, he teaches mathematics at TMR High School. Judging on his Martlets performance last Tuesday night against Concordia at the Loyola gym, Forman would have flunked them because the Stingers completely overpowered the Martlets by a score of 107-32.

This victory is their tenth in a row and second of the regular season. Such a huge scoring output is nothing new this season for coach Mike Hickey's crew. Two weeks ago, the

Stingers wiped out two teams from Ontario: Waterloo (113-46) and York (107-22). It is not surprising, then, that McGill fell by the wayside both quickly and effectively.

Full marks

Give the Concordia women full marks; they played like a championship team. They showed fine shooting, aggressiveness, air-tight defense, and speed. As a team, the Stingers hit on 48 of their 94 shots for 51 percent.

Tiny Stinger guard Liz Silcott, who led all scorers with 22 points, was the most impressive individual on the court. Using her quickness, Silcott was able to dash past the slower Martlets for easy layups. Silcott was so lonesome as she strode to the McGill basket that she could have played solitaire without being disturbed. The other top Concordia markswomen were Wanda Hines (17) and co-captain Sylvia Sweeney (16).

Naturally for Forman, it was a hard game to swallow as he saw his squad being outplayed from the very outset of the game. His team's shooting was far, far below that of Concordia's. Would you believe 11 out of 68 shots for 16 percent? There wasn't much that Forman could say except to give credit where credit is due.

"They (Concordia) did a job on us tonight," said Forman. "These kids just put pressure on us so we couldn't shoot. They were super-aggressive."

Even though the Martlets were destroyed by such a large margin, Forman said his team should not be ashamed of their play.

"I love the kids," said Forman

very openly. "They can walk with their heads high. They tried their best. The Stingers were taller, bigger, and faster but our kids were still tremendous."

The top scorers for McGill were Linda Dimichele and Cindy Dawe; both notched nine points. This loss puts the Martlets' won-lost record at 0 and 2.

Early lead

McGill took a 4-3 lead in the very first minute of play on two field goals by Dimichele and Carolyn Woorich. However, the ensuing Concordia scoring barrage of 16 consecutive points scuttled the short-lived Martlet lead. By halftime the Stingers had pulled ahead 56-16. Obviously, the Martlets' defensive strategy of woman-to-woman coverage did not work.

Not wanting to stop the onslaught, the Concordia women came out early in the intermission to sharpen up their shooting skills. As for McGill, they returned with only 36 seconds remaining in the halftime break. Without warm-ups, the Martlets proceeded to go even further downhill.

The hot duo of Silcott and Sweeney continuously received the ball at mid-court and swooped in alone for easy baskets.

"McGill's style is to get everyone close to the basket," said Hickey, "and when we get the ball, all we have to do is throw it to Liz and Sylvia. With their speed, they just fly down the court. It was like a fly-pattern in football."

The next game for the Martlets will be tomorrow at the Currie gym. The visitors will be Bishop's. Game time: 6 pm.



Gerry O'Reilly

shoots for MacJac net as Bob Spiro awaits rebound.

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